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New York Edition

One nation — one Buchenwald?

Attorney General Brownell, chief errand boy for the witch-hunt, has been scurrying about the country making speeches and giving interviews blueprinting the coming crackdown on anyone who seeks to block the road to war. There's rough weather ahead—but the GUARDIAN believes the blockade will hold (see editorial below).

UNITED NATIONS

Tribunal upholds U.S. Constitution in reversing 11 staff dismissals

By Kumar Goshal

ARTICLE 100 of the United Nations Charter calls on each UN member "to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secy.-General"; the Secy.-Gen. may not seek or receive "instructions from any government or any other authority external to the Organization."

In violation of the article, former Secy.-Gen. Trygve Lie made a secret agreement with the U.S. State Dept. in 1949, regarding political clearance of Americans employed by UN. Before he resigned, Lie fired over 40 staff members; 20 of them (and one fired by present Secy.-Gen. Dag Hammarskjold), all U.S. citizens, appealed to the Administrative Tribunal. Most of the 21 had invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked political questions by Congressional committees.

On Sept. 1 the pall of gloom that had settled on the UN staff after the firings was lifted to some extent when the Tribunal (Mme. Paul Bastid of France, Lord Crook of Britain, Sture Petren of Sweden, Omar Loutfi of Egypt) found 11 of the firings "illegal."

THE VERDICT: Four of those fired were ordered reinstated with full back salary. Seven were awarded sums of $6,000 to $40,000. The Tribunal upheld the dismissal of nine whom, since they did not have permanent contracts, the Secy.-Gen. was entitled to fire without giving any reasons.

Decisions were evidently made on the strict letter rather than the spirit of the UN Charter. The Tribunal shied away from the political implications, finding itself

> . . . not competent to pass judgement on the validity, in relation to the Charter, of an agreement made between the Secretary General and a Member State [U.S.], whatever influence this agreement may actually have had on the decision. . . .

THE "5th" UPHELD: The Tribunal gave one favorable verdict for a holder of a temporary contract. It found that Lie himself had given "the Applicant's invoking of the privilege of the Fifth Amendment before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate as one reason for dismissing," and decided that either invoking the Fifth or membership in any particular political party "would not, of itself, be a justification, in the absence of other cause, for dismissal." The unequivocal statement caused general rejoicing among the UN staff.

Hammarskjold—after conferring with the U.S. delegation—availed himself of the alternative provided in the Charter, and refused to reinstate the four as ordered by the Tribunal, preferring to pay them any compensation the Tribunal might decide upon. Pleading that UN's current budget has no provision to supply the nearly $135,000 compensation the Tribunal has already ordered, he dumped that issue in the lap of the forthcoming eighth Assembly session.

REINSTATEMENT IS OUT: UN staff members saw the Tribunal's decisions

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WAR & PEACE

Allies bridle as U.S. gives them ultimatum

By Tabitha Petran

WASHINGTON's "dynamic new policy" has reached the stage of trying to whip the non-communist world to heel behind new commitments of American power. These commitments could "take the U.S. into a quite imaginable major war" (Alsops, N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 9/7).

This is the meaning of W. German Chancellor Adenauer's post-election emphasis on "liberation of E. Germany, not reunification of Germany," and of Secy. Dulles' recent policy statements. Dulles warned that Washington:

- Will no longer tolerate neutralism in the non-communist world;
- Demands from its allies total submission to U.S. dictation;
- Will go to war under certain (easily manipulated) conditions—"renewed aggression in Korea" or stepped-up Chinese aid to Indo-China's independence forces.

THE ANGER RISES: Dulles' tough talk produced "angry reactions virtually without parallel in recent years" in at least four non-communist nations (AP, 9/4):

In W. Germany, his warning that Adenauer's defeat would have a "disastrous effect" was denounced by Social Democrats as "brazen interference" which "humiliates and insults the German people." But Adenauer won a landslide victory (see p. 3).

In India, "the popularity of the U.S. plummeted to a new low" (**NYHT**, 9/4) following his virtual order to India to toe the line or pay "the price" of its neutrality.

Japan, where anti-Americanism was reported "gaining sharply" (N.Y. **Times**, 9/7), was offended by his criticism of its rearmament effort.

Italy, already engaged in a bitter word-war with Yugoslavia over Trieste, was hit "like a cold shower" by Dulles' statement that the U.S. was reviewing its 1948 pledge of full support for Italy's claims to the whole Trieste territory—a pledge made to influence the Italian elections that year, and an embarrassment now that Yugoslavia has joined the Western camp. "One foreign ministry official said: 'This is a good way for you Americans to lose Italy'" (**NYHT**, 9/4).

WASHINGTON'S GAMBLE: These reactions did not disturb Washington. Officially committed to the alliance-policy, it believes, as CBS's Bill Costello explained (9/6), that its allies—however great their resentment of U.S. interference in their internal affairs, their longing for neutrality, even "appeasement"—have no choice "but to accept American leadership." The risk of "alienating friends" has been calculated, taken into account and discounted, he said; "where else can they go?"

The alliance-policy is now catching up with its spearhead: the go-it-alone policy which openly aims at war, a development implicit from the start.

Pressure from below is felt by pro-U.S. governments

Allied governments, led by what **NYT**'s Drew Middleton called in his book **Defense of Western Europe** "the Ministers for American Affairs," have yielded their nations' sovereignty, invited U.S. occupation, are held in power by U.S. dollars. They have no place else to go. But they are increasingly being called to account by their own peoples. This accounting will be hastened by toughening U.S. policy and W. Ger-

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Recognize the darkness before the dawn!

LABOR DAY, 1953

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN is unalterably of the opinion that the aspirations which built the New Deal are not dead in America. Through five grim years, in which American liberties have been steadily shoved back toward a pre-Jefferson status as the shadow of another world war lengthened over our beloved land, we have insisted that the fight against this High Treason in Washington and Wall St. can and will be won by the people. The GUARDIAN's continued existence is a token and a justification of our faith in this.

But we are sorely troubled by the signs and portents for the immediate future—and still more, by the failure of more than a tiny fraction of Americans to read them and act upon what they so plainly foretell.

Dyad, London

"Lie down, this is 1953—not 1933!"

WHILE THE MEN who commit treason against America are moving faster and faster to make this land a very Buchenwald for all who dare speak up for peace and freedom and abundance, most Americans—and even an alarming number of progressives—are looking in wrong directions or waiting for George to organize some action.

It is time—TODAY—for every man and woman who treasures our heritage to realize that the pitchy darkness that comes before the dawn is near at hand, and will last as long as WE let it last; to evaluate soberly but confidently the struggle to which we are all committed, and in which we have allies by hundreds of millions all over the world.

We believe that the war of aggression for which the traitors are preparing will be stopped by a solid wall of humanity all over the world which rejects suicide and chooses life. But it is time to consider how near the traitors are to a decision to launch their war in sheer desperation. While they revive murderous German nationalism in the West, and while the atomic Sen. Knowland visits with Chiang and Rhee (a trip ominously reminiscent of Dulles' journey to Japan and Korea on the eve of the Korean War), the provocations intensify. **Newsweek** (9/7) reports that Operation Big Stick, conducted within two minutes' flying time of Soviet bases, is now taking B-36 bombers in and out of Japan in "simulated A-bomb attacks" so that Russia will not know when they are really carrying A-bombs.

It is time to stop kidding ourselves about the inevitable attempt to destroy the last of our freedoms which must accompany the drive to war; if, as we believe, the traitors do not get their war, so much the more will their frustrated

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Fall Check-Up Time

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A place to go

RED BANK, N. J.

Thank you for your Report To Readers of Aug. 31, and I am sure that others are as happy over your stand as I am.

Seems that certain progressives are so anxious for a victory they are ready to embrace any dirty politicians to get it. We always have had, and I expect will have for some time, one known-for-his-evil-deeds candidate, and another not-so-well-known to the people, so that he can assume a mantle of purity and dupes will fall for him.

All of us are aware that the people, due to terror and misinformation and lies, are not flocking to join us. We also know that the reactionary forces will do more and more to expose themselves, so that the people must have somewhere to go when they are finally disillusioned. Does that mean we must blind ourselves, turn away from the truth, and join the duped ones? And what happens when they become un-duped? Will they not ask us why we didn't provide them with honest candidates instead of telling them to embrace the lesser evils?

No, we must continue to bring our "assets" to the people, door to door, by word of mouth, through our wonderful GUARDIAN, to everyone we meet, and have a calm confidence in our ultimate victory.

Mrs. Besse Strasburger

About BW in Korea

PITTSBURG, CALIF.

The Intl. Scientific Commission which reported that the U.S. had conducted bacteriological warfare in Asia has published the testimony of American prisoners of war admitting their participation in BW. Now that the prisoners of war are being returned, certain military authorities will no doubt conduct reprisals against these eviators. I think the GUARDIAN should keep these officers in mind and inform the American people of any reprisals so that a defense can be organized.

Aldo F. Azzelini

Beats us, too

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

I still cannot understand why the GUARDIAN has to fight so hard for its existence in a city of 8 million inhabitants, where there are surely about 1 million workers.

A. Dornblatt

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CHICAGO, ILL.

It seems incredible that so many Americans associate repression of the press with Argentina, Russia, etc., instead of with our own nation. I am enclosing $3 towards the Cedric Belfrage defense.

Nellie DeSchaaf

For Robbie and Michael

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

For the Jewish people, Sept. 10 was the beginning of the New Year, ushering in the year 5714. At this season, it is customary for friends and relatives to exchange New Year greetings, written and verbal.

We suggest that everyone give a thought to two little boys, recently orphaned, and send them greetings. We refer to Michael and Robbie Rosenberg, aged ten and six. They must be reassured as often as possible, that they are remembered, especially at times when other children are with their families, as on holidays.

Send a note or card (tuck in a contribution if possible) to their guardian, Emanuel H. Bloch, 401 Broadway, New York 13, N. Y.

Minna K. Berlow

How crazy can you get dept.

Adenauer, however, strongly defended Dulles' right to comment on the election. He told a campaign rally in Bonn that Dulles' opinion of who should win is "important because he has a detached view of what is happening in our campaign."

AP dispatch in N. Y. Post, Sept. 4.

One-year free sub to winner of each item published under this heading. No name attached to above clipping.

Frank Danowski

DETROIT, MICH.

I urge you to mention the recent death of Bro. Frank Danowski in the GUARDIAN.

E. Hiltunen

Frank Danowski, past president of Local 51, UAW-CIO (Plymouth Local), died July 14 after being hit by a car. In 1948 he was a member of the Progressive Party national committee. Although he had been in private industry for several years at the time of his death, the Plymouth Local paper, The Beacon, devoted the center of its front page in the July-August issue to a picture of Danowski with an editorial, which said in part:

"The history of Frank Danowski is the history of Local 51. . . . He worked ceaselessly and untiringly to build, mould, and protect the Union not only from the anti-labor onslaughts of the Chrysler Corp., but also from enemies within the Union ranks. . . ."

We share with our Michigan readers, with Plymouth Local 51 and with the many PP members who knew and respected Frank Danowski, deep regreat at his passing. Ed.

Muriel Draper

BROTKLYN, N. Y.

August 26 marked a sad anniversary for thousands of her fellow Americans—the death of Muriel Draper. And not alone for us. For she had long been the loved and respected co-worker of many of Europe's most distinguished fellow-fighters.

She has left us—in the flesh. But wherever on this planet is waged the final combat for "a brighter world, a fairer day," in the vanguard will be the everlasting inspiration and power of Muriel Draper's gallant spirit.

"We are as small as our fear and despair—as great as our courage and hope." This motto most fittingly expresses the high quality and purpose of her life.

Muriel Symington

We need 'em!

BERKELEY, CALIF.

While I agree with Al Amery that birth control is a desirable practise for people who are not able to have large families, I can only believe that anyone who advocates a low birth rate among GUARDIAN readers is an enemy of the people. With depression, war, and a great variety of tragedy and suffering to be prevented in the next 10 or 20 years, we need all the progressives we can get.

I intend—after I finish college—to raise a large family just as enthusiastically as I can. Personally, I like a lot of people around me.

Nancy Reynolds

Thanks, Jack Holmgren

BOULDER, COLO.

This $25 is in honor of Jack, born to Rod (of Denver, former GUARDIAN correspondent) and Kay Holmgren, last May.

Though he has only arrived at the tender age of four months we know that, because of the careful guidance of his parents, he will appreciate this far more than another pair of booties.

Pat and Jerry Wertheimer

"You shall not pass!"

RED WING, MINN.

I cannot tell you what a shock Cedric Belfrage's detention at Ellis Island was to me as well as to the rest of the GUARDIAN readers. That was really striking close to home. But after feelings of resentment waned, the situation almost seemed providential in its ability to stir us from our smug complacency into a realization that "eternal vigilance" is indeed the "price of liberty" and that "charity begins at home."

This attack on the editor of the GUARDIAN was no small sign of the trend of things in America. It pointed up conclusively the fact that the basic American freedoms are challenged by a group too desperately powerful for its size and too ruthless for American democracy to tolerate.

We must not shirk the responsibility of recognizing it for what it is and tries to do and to hold the line as we say with determination—"YOU SHALL NOT PASS." May God help us to that end!

Susie M. Stageberg

Bones and bundles

LAMBERTVILLE, N. J.

Last week they stripped Home Reliefers to the bone out here in New Jersey. No doubt to fill fat bundles to advertise our abundant life in East Germany.

Laurence Gellert

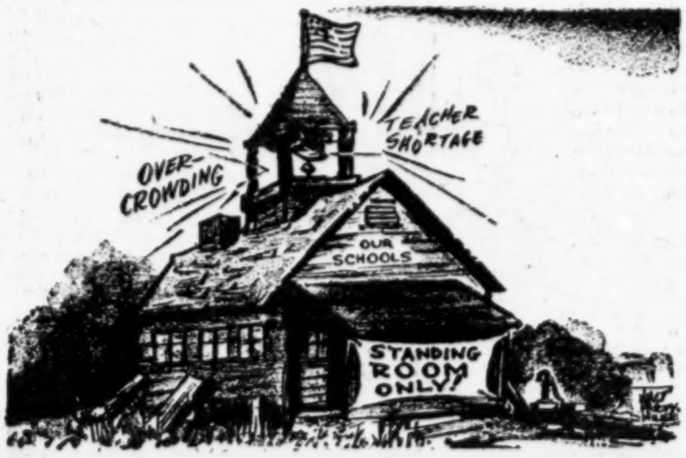
No room for fakers

CHICAGO, ILL.

To me the GUARDIAN is a truly great American paper in that it calmly and purposefully works in the best interest of our country, while being tolerant and mindful of the rights of other peoples.

It appears that many "fake" Americans have committed predatory acts against weaker peoples, and then hidden behind the American Flag, so that our Flag took the mud justly directed at them. It seems good to note that your paper plays the spotlight on such disgustingly un-American people.

William Y. Turner



Fartymiller in York Gazette & Daily

Tidelands oil revenues would really help!

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Darkness before dawn

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fury be felt on the home front. It is time to stop kidding ourselves that the witch-hunts and the spy-hunts will somehow blow the other way like last week's Hurricane Carol. To get wise to the fact that—as the GUARDIAN warned long ago and as the German story made so clear—the attack that began against Communists is aimed at the destruction of everyone who ever said "Boo" to a goose.

AS WE STATED last week, the Jenner Committee report which reduces the whole New Deal to a "communist conspiracy" is designed to drive out of public life anyone—of whatever political complexion—who disagrees with Washington's go-it-alone policy toward aggressive war.

The extent to which this represents official policy is shown by Atty. Gen. Brownell's statement last month that "the Communists in the U.S. are a greater menace now than ever." Brownell's own department estimates Communist Party membership at 25,000 and has most of its leaders in jail, appealing jail sentences or in hiding. Eisenhower's Atty. General is not talking about Communists—he is talking about every American (the majority, but a few years ago) who wants a New Deal policy.

Speaking at the American Veterans of World War II convention Sept. 5, Brownell promised a "stepped-up campaign against the Reds" linked with a "study of persons who refuse to answer questions about Communist affiliations" (i.e., who defend the Bill of Rights) before Congressional committees. Pledging to put the Natl. Lawyers Guild on his "subversive list" as "the legal arm of the Reds," and linking Guild members with defense of "Russian spies," he made clear his aim to speed up the witch-hunt by preventing any alleged "Red" from even getting effective legal aid.

The open alliance between the Administration and the McCarthyism which liberals have discounted as a mere extremist phase could not be plainer. What Administration resistance there was to McCarthy is already ceasing; McCarthy now stands cleared by Brownell's Justice Dept. of all the charges of embezzlement, mail fraud, bribery etc. which were documented in last year's report of the Senate Privileges & Elections Subcommittee.

THE TEMPTATION to belittle demands made at veterans' conventions for a virtual American police state is one to which liberals and progressives can no longer have the luxury of yielding. At the American Legion convention Sept. 2-3 which demanded a witch-hunt of the American Civil Liberties Union and Consumers Union, disbarment of Rosenberg attorney Emanuel Bloch and wider Congressional investigation of schools, both AFL pres. Meany and CIO pres. Reuther were honored speakers. And when Legion commander Lewis K. Gough told London members recently that "if Russia does not accept the American way of life, we shall have to take military action against Russia," an official U.S. Embassy statement said Gough was in Britain

> . . . on a fact-finding tour suggested by President Eisenhower and in co-operation with Secy. of State Dulles, Defense Secy. Wilson, Mutual Security Director Stassen and other U.S. officials. (Quoted by Hannen Swaffer, **World's Press News**, 8/28).

If New Dealers in America do not see now that the foul breath of fascism is blowing on their own necks, not merely on the necks of the brave but beleaguered Communist Party—and that for their own survival they MUST defend the rights of that party along with all others—then they will feel the full brunt of the oncoming storm. Such blindness history does not excuse.

If trade union rank-and-filers do not see what is in store for them under the Butler bill—which as the United Electrical Workers rightly say "seeks to bring back company unionism under the smoke-screen of 'fighting communism' "—their cup of bitterness will soon be full.

THE HOUR IS LATE, the hurricane is immediately ahead. The task is to spread the storm warning among all New Dealers who have not been hopelessly corrupted by the bogus "Red plot" scare, the twisting of words on a rack of lies, and the false prosperity induced by a broken-down war against people demanding a little bread and a few roses.

Come hell or high water, the GUARDIAN—itself under attack as part of the bogus "plot," and proud to be so—will be sticking to its post. As the storm intensifies, our job becomes both harder to do week by week and more worth doing.

We'll be there because you'll be there. For yourself—for your children—for America—will you join us in the clarion call to the great but slumbering crew of New Dealers to man the sails?

THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY IS JUST BEGINNING

Why Adenauer won his victory

THE W. German election victory scored by Chancellor Adenauer and his Christian Democratic Party brought jubilation from Washington and the most reactionary forces in Europe. Elsewhere, particularly France, it was profoundly disturbing. The Soviet press charged that the victory was won "in situation of unconcealed terror" (pre-election reports told of the arrests of thousands, organization of vigilante groups to watch the polls), and that it raised "the serious threat" that the Bonn contract and the European Defense Community would be ratified "and make peaceful reunion of Germany impossible."

Under election laws rigged to favor the Adenauer coalition (one barred from parliament parties receiving less than 5% of the total vote; another required new parties to get 500 signatures in each election district), minority parties were wiped out.

COMMUNISTS ELIMINATED: The three pro-peace parties won a negligible vote: the Communists dropped from 1,361,706 or 5.7% of the total in 1949 to 607,413 or 2.2%; the All German People's Party got only 1.2%; the vote of the Rally of the German People was not even reported.

The small vote of the neo-Nazi parties and of the two right-wing parties in the Adenauer coalition—the Free Democrats and the German Party—

News Chronicle, London
MISS EUROPE 1953

suggested that all reactionary forces flocked to Adenauer. Of the coalition's total of 15,996,897 votes and 307 seats (compared with 11,128,938 and 211 in 1949), the two minor parties won 3,256,098 votes and 63 seats. The Social Democrats, who offered little or nothing to the impoverished German workers but had placed unification of the country first on the agenda, gained from 6,934,975 to 7,939,774 votes, lost slightly (29.2 to 28.8) in percentage of total votes, gained from 136 to 150 seats.

WHY: Some reasons for the Adenauer victory:

1. The economic situation which has been favorable not only for big business but for the middle class.

2. Lack of political maturity in the labor movement, whose philosophy is reminiscent of the AFL's—based on the premise that Germany must be put back on the map before real demands can be made for better working conditions.

3. The weak campaign of the Social Democrats, whose zeal in riding the "communist menace" undermined their play for the unity vote.

4. The strength of nationalism and neo-Nazism.

5. Adenauer's repeated calls for a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R. It is significant that following Secy. Dulles' intervention (see p. 1) Adenauer, instead of presenting himself as the apostle of German integration with the West, renewed his calls for a security pact with Moscow and trade. One of his first decisions was to set up—for the first time—a Ministry for Foreign Trade.

Washington interpreted the Adenauer victory as a mandate for its war policy. The real struggle over Germany's future was just beginning.

Mrs. America's blood boils over

THERE has been so much written and said about the poor starving East Germans that I was distinctly shocked when I saw the news telecasts on TV recently showing these people flocking across the river to the West side to get the food given away by generous America—I was shocked to see how fat, sleek and well-dressed these people were. All the women were much too fat, and should go on a diet, and only in a few selected cases where there was a camera closeup of a thin child or needy looking elderly person did there appear any actual hunger or need. I could not help but wonder how our own people from the slums of New York City, or any large city in America, would compare in appearance with these fat, well-fed-looking East Germans. Of course, they came by the thousands for free food. Would it not be the same were the Russians to send a ship load of food to any American city to be given away? I feel sure our own needy would look poorer and hungrier looking.

There are thousands of little American children from 6 to 10 years of age who have never tasted real butter—only oleo when they can afford it, and how about the poor Arizonans who have had to eat "horse meat?" I never drive through some of the poorer Indian reservations but my blood just boils to think of the millions and millions of dollars worth of food we give to the foreign countries and neglect our own at home. **MRS. AMERICA**

(Reprinted from the letter column of the Arizona Republic, Phoenix.)

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

many's new stature in the Western alliance following the electoral victory of aggressive nationalism. For example:

• **INDO-CHINA:** French Premier Laniel has (Alsops, 9/7) finally approved the U.S.-inspired Navarre plan "to win the Indo-China war," following promises of more aid and U.S. commitment in Indo-China. But U.S. aid

> . . . is now feared by many Frenchmen on the ground that it may commit the French indefinitely to a war they would prefer to liquidate (NYT, 9/3).

Ludas Matyi, Budapest
France: an early Fall is expected

The mounting popular demand to end "the dirty war" will be strengthened both by Peking Radio's suggestion that direct negotiation between the French and Ho Chi Minh's independence forces might end the conflict, and by the Adenauer victory. The French government's ability to make its decision stick is questionable. The N.Y. **World-Telegram** (9/5) acknowledged that it

> . . . seems doomed to defeat when Parliament returns in the fall. . . . Coming political crisis probably will be accomplished by economic, financial and social crisis—with more strikes. Little people of France are in mood for action.

• **CHINA:** U.S. maneuvers to bar discussion of China's admission to UN at the coming UN Assembly could succeed, as did its exclusion of India from the Korean political conference. But popular pressure from below is growing, as was apparent in the three Scandinavian countries' decision to recommend China's admission; in the demand for a policy change toward a peace direction in all but two of 82 resolutions concerned with foreign policy prepared for the annual British Labor Party Conference this month; in the Canadian government's conviction, suggested repeatedly by Premier St. Laurent in recent speeches, that "the U.S. must learn to co-exist with nationalism and even with communism in Asia" (**Newsweek**, 9/7).

Depression fear stalks big business in U. S.

The Western alliance is already torn by popular pressure, contradictions and conflicts among the capitalist powers. Fear that it may fall completely apart if international tension is relaxed lies behind Washington's threatening war moves. This fear explains why Dulles is an old man in a great hurry.

It coincides with revival of another fear—big business' fear of a future depression, which shadows the years ahead.

THE 6 GHOSTS: Despite a peacetime employment peak in August, near-record output and profit levels (production, only 2% below March's postwar peak; profits, 16% above a year ago), the stock market last month broke to its lowest level in a year. **Business Week** (9/5) commented: "Wall St. is looking beyond today's prosperity." These were the chief factors in what the **Journal of Commerce** (9/2) termed "the waning confidence in the general business outlook":

1. **Overproduction,** glaring for some time in farm products, is now cropping up elsewhere. **J of C** editor H. E. Luedicke wrote (8/27):

> Nearly everywhere you look today, it's a question of too much of this, too much of that. Too much lead; too much zinc; too much copper; too much cotton.

2. **Weaknesses** are appearing in housing and auto. Reflecting these weaknesses, steel has been operating at less than capacity; return of freight absorption in steel points to growing competition.

3. **Inventories** "loom as a black cloud on the business horizon" (**BW**, 9/5). Manufacturers' inventories rose by $3 billion this year with nearly all the added stock held by makers of durable goods. At the same time, the backlog of unfilled orders dropped by $5 billion—a 7% decline.

4. **Factory hiring rates** sank more sharply this summer than in any since the war—in part accounted for by "more than seasonable curtailment of output" (Bureau of Labor Statistics).

5. **Consumer credit,** at the all-time high of $27.2 billion, was the main force behind consumer buying this year, but is reaching a level where repayments may soon top loans.

6. **Foreign trade** is contracting. U.S. commercial exports dropped 15% this year, partly owing to import curbs imposed by U.S. allies to reduce their "dollar gaps."

PEOPLE CAN'T BUY: These developments don't necessarily add up to a recession just around the corner. A key indicator—new orders for machinery—shows no decisive trend one way or another. But they do point to a crisis maturing behind "today's prosperity"—a crisis reflecting the basic fact that since 1945 U.S. productive capacity has grown 70%, while the worker's capacity to buy has risen barely 10%.

This, rather than Soviet A- and H-bomb development, lies behind the new

Carrefour, Paris

drive, spearheaded by the Democratic Party, for another big increase in arms spending. But Washington's extreme adventurism suggests big business doubts that another routine kickup in the arms budget will be enough. Business, it is true, had declined for 18 months before the Korean War was launched. But with the balance of world forces shifting so palpably against it, U.S. big business may feel it cannot afford to await the onset of the crisis, which the widening gap between capacity to produce and capacity to consume makes inevitable.

Where is U. S. opposition to "even bigger war"?

The real danger today lies in the absence of domestic opposition to Washington's adventurist moves to launch what **NYWT** (9/3) called "an even bigger war which may be around the corner."

Yet there are new opportunities opening in the struggle to prevent it. Fighting for wage increases, lower taxes, cuts in the arms budget, and against the "big steal," is increasingly necessary to ameliorate the impact of the developing crisis on the people; it can show that the people are not a passive mass to be manipulated as Washington pleases.

STOP THE NONSENSE: The demand for negotiations to replace threats will find widening support as the colossal implications of the American defeat in Korea and Soviet atomic progress begin to sink in.

This is already apparent. Sen. Ralph Flanders (R-Vt.), in a letter to **NYHT** (9/5), urged that "coming to an agreement with the Soviet government on this matter [disarmament] must not be written off as an impossibility," and warned that no government can command the confidence of its own people if it does not convince them "it is earnestly seeking means" to avoid the sacrifices of war. Said the Washington **Star** (8/24):

> . . . There is no way to save civilization unless civilization stops this nonsense [the arms race] and gets down to the hard business of actually doing away with war.

The bigger war Washington is trying to launch can be prevented—but the American people will have to do their share.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND WORLD PEACE — III

The myth of the atomic secret

By Dr. Philip Morrison

IT IS hard to say whether the word which most often follows "atom" in the press is "bomb" or "secret." Certainly the idea of the key atomic secret is a main feature of the mythology of our day. Like all great myths, it has some basis in fact; it has had consequences far more weighty than its factual content alone would have allowed one to expect.

Especially in our country, the atomic bomb was born in secrecy. During the

years 1940-45, the project grew to involve tens of thousands of persons who knew roughly its scope, scale, and purpose. Editors of technical journals, noting the shift of their subscribers and the flow of new men and new materials to new-born plants; normally gossipy physicists, observing the tight-mouthed western exodus of their colleagues; machinists, pipe-fitters and electricians who once in a while connected their odd work with what they had once heard or read—these were the people who held the secret. Voluntary censorship, a wartime feeling of responsibility, the painstaking efforts of Army authorities to batten down tight all the gaping holes in the secret of the Manhattan Project—all these meant a good job of "keeping the secret."

SECRETS THAT ARE KEPT: The secret was out with the death of Hiroshima. For, of course, by far the most important of all the secrets of the atom is that the bomb and the chain reaction worked. The Army intelligence specialists who passed on the famous Smyth report were well aware that it simply made official and public what everyone technically involved had guessed and gathered.

It is worthwhile to talk a little bit about secrets. A surprise party has to be kept secret, but of course not from everyone. An amphibious landing or shipment of troops is in exactly the same fix. A decision has been made, by rather few persons. Then many more must help to execute it, often without understanding it in detail, at least until the last moment. Such secrets are everywhere. They are kept in modern state affairs by the familiar machinery of guards, codes, locked files, censors, cutting off lines of communication. They are often of real importance and will remain with us while war exists.

SECRETS UNKEEPABLE: A decision which must be kept secret may be a D-day, or the size of the bomb-bay in a new plane, or the number of anti-aircraft guns on a battleship. These may be partly translated into metal or drawings or notebook-entries; but the real secret is based on a human decision. Unless it leaks, by intent of blunder, or is inferred from some knowledge of the actions or materials involved, the decision can remain hidden, until it is finally revealed by the carrying out of the decision itself. That is a secret, to reason and common sense.

The fact that uranium fissions, that tritium will burn at high temperatures, that heavy water is a good neutron slowing medium—these are different. They have become public knowledge—and this was inevitable; it did not happen because of carelessness or espionage. For those facts do not depend on human decisions; they are facts of nature. Anyone, trained and equipped and organized to make the inquiries of nature, can find out the "secret." Those are not secrets in the language of common sense. It is this confusion which has gripped public opinion strongly in the last eight years.

ACCIDENTS: There are intermediate cases, where a balanced judgment is needed. The discovery of fission was made by accident. Had it been kept secret the accident might not have occurred to another physicist for years. But perhaps another man than Hahn might have found the effect the very next month by a different path. You just do not know.

Then there are, in a great enterprise like the atomic energy industry, many books filled with facts, clever designs, tricks of the trade. These are kept secret. But the prudent man knows that even if his secrets remain inviolate, his competitor may be doing exactly the same thing, and keeping his good idea religiously secret, too. Trade secrets are commonplace in industry, but they seldom are decisive in competition.

In a world divided by cold war, there is no doubt that guards and spies, locked files and censors, will be quietly active. Most of the secrets sought will be decisions, but some will be facts of nature, ways of doing things, tricks and gadgets. The justification for the expense and trouble of keeping and ferretting out secrets will be a simple competitive one.

NO "SECRET FORMULA": But even from the narrow view of preparing national military security it will be plain to every reasonable person that achievement, new ideas, improvements, are more important than hiding what you learned once. You must not hamper

Drawing by Dyad, London

"And forgive me for divulgin' Newton's Law of Gravity to Junior—Amen."

your own actions by an urge to keep secrets.

Technical intelligence is in the long run mainly the unromantic gathering of facts and figures from a hundred sources, to put together a picture of what the other fellow knows and does. It will seldom be true that your own technical people can trust the answer to a technical problem gained by snitching it from the other fellow. Maybe he is fooling you; maybe you lack the know-how; maybe with or without his data you can find a better way, more suited to your personnel, tradition, and equipment. Certainly there is no "secret formula" to the construction of any important weapon—the atomic bomb no less than a plane or ship or radar set.

POLITICAL SPY-HUNTS: In the light of such a discussion, what is the explanation for the frantic concern about spies and secrets? Let the counter-intelligence work, as it did during wartime, in discreet secrecy, so as not to alert its suspect too soon. That is the purely rational, simply military-technical approach to the problem. But instead we see the newspapers and Congress, we see an over-estimated and highly-publicized agency like the FBI become all but obsessed with secrets and spies. The reason is clear: politics.

The great and incredibly public spy-scares have been the basis for forming public opinion. They have tried to make the clandestine and inevitably shoddy business of spy and counter-spy synonymous with political dissent. They have enormously inflated the technical importance of the acts of espionage.

THE FUCHS HOAX: It was not the documents written by the well-informed physicist Klaus Fuchs, as he says, which made a successful Soviet atomic project. It was above all the efforts of industry and science in the U.S.S.R. The A-bomb is not a piece of paper; it is above all great and complex factories. In the maximum case, a Fuchs might save some money otherwise spent in following false leads of research, but he cannot make the difference between success and failure, nor save any important amount of time or effort.

Most technical persons who have worked, as I have, with military intelligence officers in this country, would be incredulous if data obtained by an American secret agent should ever reach them in the right form, in detail, ungarbled, with all the evidence to make it believable. I suspect that Soviet intelligence is not more scientifically-minded than our own.

TISSUE OF MYTH: Proof of the essentially irrational nature of the spy hysteria is offered by the incredible charge of Judge Kaufman in the tragic Rosenberg case. No one can read it, in light of the case's subsequent history, without seeing how great a tissue of myth has been erected on the half-truth of the secrets of the atom. There is about it an air of something even more than the manipulation of public opinion to support a policy of war; there is an air of the unhealthy.

How could any but this great nation make an atom bomb, say the spy-hunters, unless there were treason

somewhere? How could the Chinese have changed their way of life unless Owen Lattimore had betrayed American policy? These questions, half-formed by many more people than the crackpot McCarthy fringe, stand for a sickness in our country, a sickness which reason, calmness and the fight for peace alone can cure.

THE PEOPLE MUST KNOW: There is one more important effect of the atom-secret hysteria. It is hard to form American atomic policy because the notion that the atom is a secret is in the public air. Our atomic policy is set largely in secret by a few worried men in Washington, often with bitter internal debate, unknown or barely leaked into the public press. Matters which may in the end affect war and peace directly, which may mean literally life or death to millions of Americans, are decided without the checks of debate.

On July 8 the President himself, following statements of several leaders in atomic energy governmental bureaus, said he thought the time had arrived when the American people must have more information on this subject. But nothing has been done.

Just in these months of summer the debate has begun about peacetime uses of the atom. How those benefits should be made available, what they might be, how much "free enterprise" is to profit by the multi-billion-dollar taxpayer investment—these are issues which must gain wide public discussion. Progressives who will inform themselves of the facts, and who will speak up against the misuse and exaggeration of the idea of secrecy, will play an important role in the winning of peacetime power from the atom.

Questions?

At the conclusion of this five-part series, Dr. Morrison has offered to answer reasonable questions about atomic energy. If you have a question, send it in now to Atom Q. and A., National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 17, N.Y.

Man who came home to bedlam

The following letter was published recently (date missing from clip sent by a correspondent) in the Los Angeles Times:

I HAVE just returned to the U.S. after more than two years abroad. The atmosphere here appalls me. It is unrealistic and infantile. . . .

Americans today are the most feared and hated people on the face of the globe—anywhere you look: Europe, the Middle East, Asia.

Two Army officers beaten in Japan? Good Lord, I wish you would compile a list of U.S. officers, GIs and civilian officials beaten in the last two years in France, Italy, West Germany, England, the Lebanon, Tripoli—and anywhere else we've sent our moronic agents of the American way of life.

What the hell has happened to this country? The Soviets are aggressors? Nobody abroad believes it for a moment—not even members of the puppet Cabinets we have blackmailed and set up in France and Italy, and to some extent Great Britain, which, by the by, is rapidly getting ready to tell us to go to hell. . . .

Extensive trade agreements between Great Britain and the Soviet countries are now in the making and Churchill's "illness" is going to last a long time. He is going to make no deal with Eisenhower, and everyone in Britain knows this.

Military warfare is the infantile myth of Americans and the Pentagon. What the Communists are waging is economic and political warfare while we blithely build bombs and organize air wings that will never be used. If they are used they will be as futile as our terrible fiasco in Korea. We are up against an economic and political war on capitalism.

Our isolated foreign army and air bases, which would last about 30 minutes in the event of actual hostilities, are objects of contempt and derision in every foreign country in which I have traveled.

What's the matter? We Americans are facing a brutal and perhaps disastrous education in the facts of economic life. Take a look at the dropping foreign trade statistics of every western nation, including Latin America's. It isn't funny. It's frightening. . . .

Who is the American press fooling by the ignoring of unpleasant news; by this insistence that our national policies are sound, "patriotic," and supported by "right-thinking" people everywhere? . . .

As a French lawyer remarked to me caustically a few weeks ago, "You are returning to the greatest insane asylum in the world."

I protested then. But I agree with him now.

Paul R. Barton

Sherman Oaks.

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VOTE ALP ON PRIMARY DAY, SEPT. 15

Wagner pulls punches against Impy; Halley fake on fare exposed

By Elmer Bendiner

ONE week before Primary Day (Sept. 15) the voters seemed to be yawning. The N. Y. Times (9/8) reported:

"Apathy was indicated by small attendance at rallies, the difficulty of getting campaign contributions and a lag in the recruitment of workers."

The city was unmoved by the shadow-boxing in the Democratic Party preliminary bout, and plainly feared it would set a waltz-like pace for the final bout of the major contenders. The voters had been told the city was in a financial mess; taxes and fares were rising; schools were hopelessly inadequate, many on part-day session; hospitals admittedly understaffed and with far too few beds; labor feared new wage-cuts; the waterfront wavered between gang-war and a precedent-shattering regimentation; more than a third of the city was ill-housed and rents were rising; discrimination against the Negro and Puerto Rican New Yorkers was mounting and so was the resistance to it. All these might have been issues in the primary. One of the contenders was the Mayor, who could have been pilloried on each issue.

ANTI-SIN: Many New Yorkers would have enjoyed seeing the Mayor in the stocks and might have campaigned for the man who put him there. Robert Wagner Jr. left the issues out of his campaign against the Mayor and then complained when crowds were thin at street corners. It was clear that if the Mayor is beaten on Primary Day, Wagner could claim small credit; the long-standing, unforgiving anti-Impy sentiment had no stimulus from him. The question was: had Wagner so watered down that sentiment that Impellitteri, despite his record, could win by default?

Wagner and Robert B. Blaikie beat one drum throughout the primary campaign: crime and corruption. Halley could be heard warming up on the same theme. Corruption had no defenders.

TOSSED MAYOR: For the

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

The world will not forget

When Ethel and Julius Rosenberg died, millions vowed to remember. Above, the window of the newspaper Humanite in Paris, with flowers and with photos of Ethel and Julius and their children. In New York the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case has called the first Rosenberg memorial meeting Wednesday, Sept. 16 at 7:30 p.m. at Randall's Island Stadium. The rally will see the first appearance of the "Rosenberg Dedication Book" in which thousands are to inscribe their pledges of action to vindicate the Rosenbergs and free Morton Sobell. Tickets, available at the committee, 1050 Sixth Av.: $1 plus tax general admission; $1.50 plus tax for field seats. All under 16, free. Busses run from 125th St. and Lexington Av. direct to the stadium.

AS THE GENERALS TAKE OVER THE N.J.-N.Y. WATERFRONT

Rank-and-file caught in govt.-gangster squeeze on docks

EDWARD J. McGRATH was reliably reported back on the city's waterfront. Except for a brief and uninformative appearance before the N. Y. State Crime Commission two years ago he had been resting out of sight in Florida ever since his brother-in-law and colleague on the Intl. Longshoreman's Assn. staff, John M. (Cockeye) Dunn, died in the electric chair in 1949.

McGrath has been sought in connection with several waterfront slayings, including the one that sent Dunn to the chair, but he has never been brought to trial on a charge of murder. He ran a group of North River piers below the territory staked out and still held by Mickey Bowers of the Pistol Local 824.

PEACEMAKER: Police said they spotted McGrath in several conferences throughout the summer at Canal Street rendezvous with various longshore bosses. They did not bother him. McGrath was credited with calling off any action by ILA Pres. Joseph P. Ryan against Anthony (Tough Tony) Anastasia, who is consolidating a machine to take over when Ryan falls.

Six weeks ago, while the ILA was still pretending to follow the AFL injunction to clean house of racketeers, it seemed a toss-up as to who would clean whom — Anastasia or Ryan. Anastasia transferred himself into a new local, bounced the business agent and had himself elected to the job, then proceeded on an amalgamation plan.

Ryan ordered him suspended, appointed agents to take over the local's books. Anastasia indicated he'd like a test of strength. Ryan's clean-up squad delayed action then dissolved in polite overtures. The charges against Anastasia were quietly withdrawn; Ryan announced that Anastasia had agreed to ILA conditions (which Anastasia promptly denied); Anastasia's lawyer asked police to call off the bodyguard which presumably had been protecting the outstanding criminal element on the waterfront against the vengeance of official leadership. It was not a truce; it was a clear defeat for Ryan.

RYAN'S TWILIGHT: There could be little doubt that Ryan's 15-year rule (he was elected for life) was drawing to an end. Anastasia's defiance, McGrath's return, the crop of pretenders like tugboat boss Capt. William V. Bradley—all indicated the approaching end.

The "reform" program which grew out of the N. Y. State Crime Commission investigation, was getting under way. The N. Y.-N. J. commission authorized by Washington took on an ominous military note when Gov. Dewey designated Lt. Gen. George P. Hays as its representative, and Gov. Driscoll named Maj. Gen. Edward C. Rose.

TROUBLE AHEAD: The first of the reform measures went into effect Sept. 1, but was promptly nullified by a timetable that failed to put first things first. As of now any union with an officer or agent convicted of a felony is prohibited from collecting dues. Almost 30% of ILA officers in the port have felonious records but the generals' code says that this applies only to registered longshoremen and the time-table sets Dec. 1 as the deadline for registration.

GEN. G. P. HAYS
On the double

ILA locals went on collecting dues last week. The actual registration of longshoremen (which includes the screening of those whose employment might be against the "general welfare," or who are charged with belonging to organizations advocating the overthrow by force and violence of the government) is to begin Sept. 30.

The generals and the press expected a certain resistance and in advance blamed any boycott on gang-boss pressure.

THE GOOD FELONS: If wholesale murder does not break out on the waterfront the generals expect to have everything

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

Sign on the line

Pickets roamed the city gathering signatures to petition urging Hearns to settle the strike now in its fifth month. Striker (above) does a rushing business on lower Broadway. More than 150,000 New Yorkers have signed. Last week the Joint Board of Fur Dressers and Dyers Unions joined the CIO in supporting the strike, condemning the NLRB's failure to act against company union-busting.

SECOND CONVENTION SEPT. 19

Negro Labor Council meets

THE Greater N.Y. Negro Labor Council, 53 W. 125th St., has called "all Negro men and women, and white workers who live in our city, whether employed or unemployed, organized or unorganized, in AFL, CIO and independent unions, members of churches, lodges or other community organizations," to its second convention Sat., Sept. 19, at Hotel Theresa, 125th St. and 7th Av., starting at 9:30 p.m.

The call quotes a U.S. Labor Dept. report that "the highest proportion of Negro workers continue to be found in lower-paying and less-skilled occupations," that "50% of all women in private household work" are Negro, and that "the average weekly salary of Negro male workers is but $35 as compared with $58 for the white male, and $12 for the Negro woman worker as compared with $33 for the white woman worker."

"FREEDOM BY 1963": The Council, echoing the NAACP's battle cry of "Freedom by '63," has charted a program which includes: further aid to Southern workers, centering at the moment around labor battles at Louisville's General Electric plant, Winston-Salem's R. J. Reynolds tobacco, the menhaden fishermen's strike; successful conclusion of hotel and public utility job campaigns in the city; campaigns around African, Puerto Rican, West Indian colonial problems, Negro representation in government, FEPC, civil rights and pro-labor legislation and "the underpaid, unemployed and discriminated-against Negro woman."

Politics

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

most part the Mayor's campaign was summed up by his performance at a Feast for St. Anthony of Padua last week at 106th St. between 1st and 2d Avs. Shakily he let himself be hoisted aboard a 70-foot-high religious statue which was then tossed about by 100 men in time to band music. Some 15,000 persons, gathered for the religious celebration, showed their enjoyment of the Mayor's campaigning by throwing handfuls of rice at him.

He then took the stump and hammered away at the major themes of his campaign: the **Daily Worker**, he said, was supporting Clifford T. McAvoy, Rudolph Halley and Robert F. Wagner for Mayor; he was the first Mayor with "guts enough" to ban the May Day parade. He ignored all other issues except the fare boost, on which he defended himself by pointing out that he had traveled to Albany five times.

Halley's double-talk on the fare steal

The only telling blow the Mayor struck came last Tuesday night, one week before Primary Day, when on a TV broadcast he quoted from a Tex and Jinx breakfast radio hour of July 8 in which Liberal Party chairman A. A. Berle discussed Halley's vote against the fare rise:

"I talked it over with him [Halley]. And we agreed that if his vote was needed, if it was that or having the whole thing go into a tailspin, he'd vote for it, but that he would not vote for it unless he had to."

Halley's and Wagner's main claims for support are their votes against the fare rise. The Mayor timed his expose to tar Wagner's vote with the same hypocrisy as Halley's, and sought to take the fare-rise issue out of the campaign entirely, leaving only the **Daily Worker** and May Day.

WHAT BERLE SAID: ALP mayoralty candidate McAvoy made public the full text of Berle's breakfast remarks. Berle was asked:

"If we had another mayor, could Gov. Dewey have been prevented from raising the rent in New York and from bringing in a commission to eventually raise the subway fare? Also, if Lazarus Joseph had gone along with Halley and voted against the commission for the subway, what would have happened?"

ANDRONICUS JACOBS
Don't lie down

Berle: "The Dewey package was, in my mind, a bad job. If you had a choice between taking it and the city going bankrupt, obviously you would have to take it and for that reason, Lazarus Joseph went along with it. Halley would have gone along with it if his vote had been necessary. He didn't like it. None of us did. I think the real trouble with the Dewey package was that it was a half-baked, half-thought-out job. One-third of it was knocked out anyway. That was a payroll tax which is really an added income tax on the poor. It was that kind of philosophy that made this thing bad. I don't know what would have happened if they didn't take it but probably something else would have happened before they would let the town go bankrupt. The reason Halley voted against it was that he was in the opposition. The majority of the Board of Estimate voted for it, so they didn't need his vote. That being so, he was in the position, as an opposition member can, simply to express his opposition without being responsible for the result. I talked it over with him and we agreed that if his vote was needed, if it was that or having the whole thing go into a tailspin he would vote for it but he would not vote for it unless he had to. What he was saying is that this was a bad job and since his vote was not needed to pass it, he could afford to vote against it and did."

"POLITICAL FAKERY": Commenting on Berle's confession, McAvoy said:

"If Fiorello LaGuardia, whose name Mr. Halley has been using so cheaply, were alive LaGuardia would have denounced this crooked political action of Mr. Halley as that of a tinhorn politician. . . . At the beginning of this campaign, I charged that the Liberal Party had helped bring about the 15c fare by political fakery."

"Just two ways to run the city"

While skirting the city's fundamental issues, Halley and Wagner have both assailed "Deweyism," charging the Mayor with being the Governor's man.

That issue threatened to drop out as well when Washington stories mentioned Gov. Dewey as a possible choice by Eisenhower to fill the late Chief Justice Vinson's job. If "Deweyism" goes, the candidates may have to campaign in a large vacuum, leaving the city's pressing issues an ALP monopoly.

DON'T LIE DOWN: Andronicus Jacobs, ALP candidate for Manhattan Borough President, in announcing a meet-the-candidates rally at Small's Paradise Sept. 20, issued the "Harlem warning."

"Please notice that when they [the old-line politicians] call the American Labor Party names, and you get scared and vote for them—that is the time they raise the rents and fares. As long as you lie down to their jive, they keep on making life miserable for us. . . . Be particularly on guard for our kind who are flunkeys and 'Uncle Toms.' Whether they are Democrats or Republicans or Liberals, sift their gift of gab and you'll find that the difference is as a frying-pan to the fire. Be on guard for the storm of red-baiting. Demand that they stick to the issues of housing, rents, fares, civil rights and peace."

Don't forget to vote Sept. 15

Waterfront

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

nailed down by the end of the year. The various pretenders to Ryan's throne could conceivably operate under the generals' system of governmental hiring. Screeners are empowered to make exceptions for felons if necessary for the port's good or to suppress radicalism.

The AFL, which for years lent the Ryan regime the respectability of a charter, seemed uncertain what to do about the gangs, the government or the longshoremen. Ryan's lame stabs at a clean-up were as good as a defiance, making it certain that the AFL convention later this month will confirm the ILA suspension. Last week Ryan was polling his lieutenants to see what sentiment there might be for a defiant walk-out and the establishment of an independent union.

The AFL seemed almost apathetic in the face of defiance. ILA Local 205, which works the lumber yards, switched early this month to the AFL Teamsters; but Teamster Pres. David Beck made it plain this presaged no mass raid but was only a natural jurisdictional shift.

A NEW UNION? Along the East and Gulf coasts ILA vice-presidents were jumping the gun and clamoring to stay in the AFL when Ryan goes. They called for a new union, the American Federation of Longshoremen. AFL Pres. Meany indicated he would welcome the AFL-AFL after the convention acts.

None of the warlords seemed worried. The N.Y. port had always been their plum. It seemed as if a jurisdictional dispute was being settled by giving N.Y. to the wolves and the government reform, the rest of the East Coast ports to the AFL.

At the Gov. Clinton Hotel negotiations went on sporadically between the ship owners and the ILA. At the Sept. 2 session, which broke precedent by admitting the press, some of the city's most trigger-happy gunmen spoke with seeming gentility and earnestness about wages and hiring. (The ILA is demanding a 50c wage raise and a hiring plan that will prevent complete government domination. The employers seem to be holding out to see what the government's "reform" program will mean.)

The one quarter unheard from on the waterfront was the rank-and-file. They still shaped up and hauled cargo, talked strike if negotiations collapse. What they thought could not easily be learned; longshoremen do not talk freely on the piers or in their homes. Now they run two risks: brass-knuckles or a bullet from a gang boss and possible screening by a government hiring office. Wherever the resistance—and the final answer—lay, it was far underground.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM presents a lecture on the Kinsey Report, a Marxist interpretation. Speaker, Ellen Reed. Questions and discussion. Fri., Sept. 18, 8 p.m. Militant Hall, 116 University Place, near Union Square. Contribution: 25c.

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Emerson honored at lunch, Sept. 21

Prof. Thomas I Emerson, a founder and active leader of the Lawyers' Guild, will be honored at a luncheon Monday, Sept. 21, at the Fifth Av. Hotel by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Prof. Emerson is going abroad on a sabbatical leave from the Yale Law School. Tickets for the lunch are $2.50 and may be obtained through the Committee, 421 7th Av., N. Y. C., tel. OX 5-2863.

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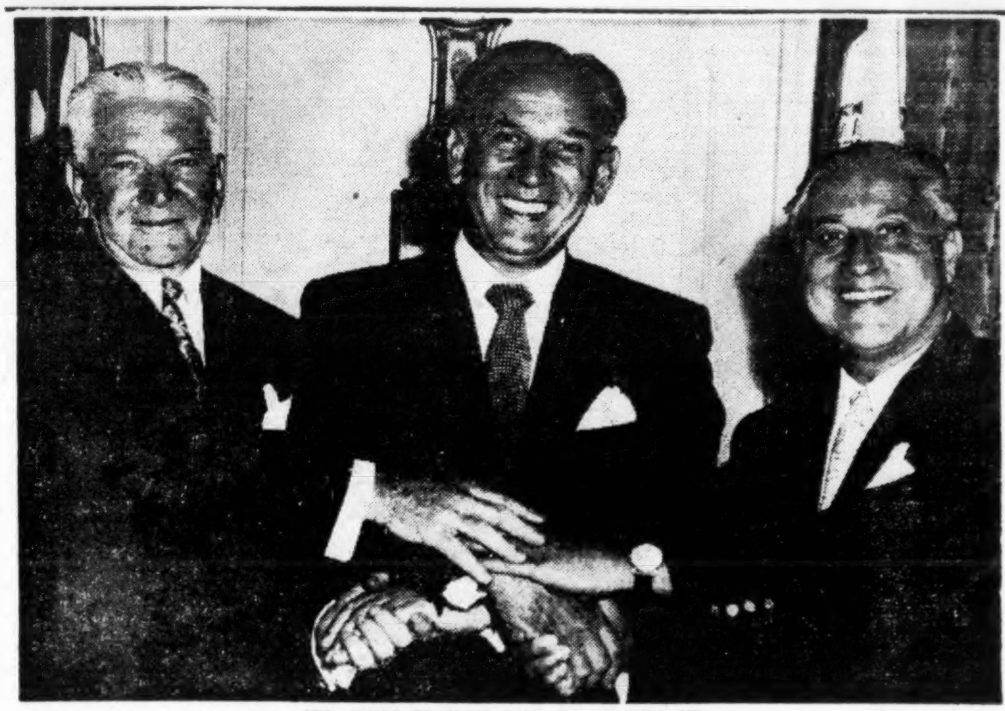

NO, THIS IS NOT THE BEEF TRUST

It's one of the Democratic tickets—stuffed, sleek and smug—ready to keep jobbing you out of a decent city government if you vote them into office. L. to r.: Bronx Councilman Charles E. Keegan (for Comptroller); Mayor Impellitteri (for re-election); Julius A. Helfand (for Council President).

WHY YOU RIDE FOR 15 CENTS

Big property tax evasion costs $15,000,000 a year

IN 1949 when the city was already headed for bankruptcy ALP Chairman Vito Marcantonio pointed the way out. It meant removing a large skeleton: the scandalous legalized tax evasion by big property owners which cost the city millions of dollars of revenue.

Even since there has been a gentleman's agreement among the big parties to ignore the skeleton's presence. Anguished politicians sought revenue by increasing fares, slashing city services, preparing "budgets for disaster."

$150,000,000: The ALP, bound by no such agreement, referred to the skeleton on all appropriate occasions. Last month mayoralty candidate Clifford T. McAvoy estimated the loss to the city at $150,000,000, more than enough to handle the deficit and keep the fare down to a dime. Last week ALP candidate for controller Arthur Schutzer, speaking at a rally in Hunts Point Palace, said:

"It is unbelievable but true that such commercial properties as the Irving Trust Co., R. H. Macy, Natl. City Bank and the 40 Wall St. Bldg. are actually assessed at lower values today than they were in the depression year of 1932.

"This strange fiscal fact explains not only the huge tax escape granted to the big real estate interests, but also points the way to an untapped source of revenue which our city can and should get to help provide decent service in schools, hospitals, health, sanitation and other municipal functions."

Schutzer gave these figures on 1953 assessments compared with those of 1932 for 23 large, lucrative pieces of Manhattan property:

Property	1932 Assessment	1953 Assessment
Irving Trust Co., 1 Broadway	21,600,000	15,000,000
N. Y. Stock Exchange, 2-20 Broad St.	22,750,000	17,000,000
Manufacturers Trust Co., 55-9 Broad St.	3,825,000	3,250,000
Chase Natl. Bank, 15 Broad St.	17,250,000	15,000,000
Natl. City Bank, 53-57 Wall St.	8,300,000	6,600,000
Natl. City Bank, 69-75 Beaver St.	14,350,000	13,800,000
40 Wall St. Building	26,250,000	19,000,000
Equitable Life Ins. Soc., 120 Broadway	31,000,000	30,000,000
Federal Reserve Bank, 19 Liberty St.	14,500,000	14,500,000
Woolco Realty Co., 229 Broadway	11,250,000	8,000,000
Hotel Statler, 417 Seventh Av.	13,300,000	11,450,000
R. H. Macy, 459 Seventh Av.	27,250,000	23,500,000
Empire State Bldg., 350 Fifth Av.	40,000,000	45,000,000
Metropolitan Life Ins. Co., 1 Fourth Av.	13,750,000	10,800,000
New York Life Ins. Co., 43-61 Madison Av.	20,000,000	18,500,000
B. Altman, 335-71 Fifth Av.	17,500,000	12,000,000
Stern Bros., 35-45 W. 42d St.	10,800,000	7,000,000
Natl. City Bank, 17 E. 42d St.	8,100,000	6,025,000
Bloomingdale Bros., 743-65 Lexington Av.	8,300,000	6,900,000
City Bank Farmers Trust Co. 531-7 Fifth Av.	7,200,000	5,250,000
Hotel Commodore, 109-35 E. 42d St.	16,500,000	15,000,000
Saks & Co., 611-21 Fifth Av.	11,000,000	10,750,000

Women picket UN on Puerto Rico

ELEVEN women picketed last week opposite the UN building where the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was considering a U. S. contention that Puerto Rico was free and independent. The women recalled the fact that close to 100 political prisoners (mostly Nationalists) have been held in prison either in Puerto Rico or the States since the abortive uprising in 1950. The demonstration was organized by the Women's Committee for the Liberation of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners.

On the line were the wife and daughter of Oscar Collazo who is serving a life sentence, charged with complicity in an attempt to assassinate Pres. Truman in 1950. All 11 were arrested for refusing to transfer the picket line to First Av. and 42d St.

ANGELS WANTED

Belfrage Fight Back Comm. needs clerical help during office hours and Wednesday evenings. Angels please call Isabel at WO 4-3960.

A MESSAGE TO NEW YORKERS

Why vote ALP?

The American Labor Party, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y., last week sent the following letter to N. Y. voters:

Dear American Labor Party Voter:

We urge you to go to the polls on TUESDAY, SEPT. 15, PRIMARY ELECTION DAY. Polls will be open from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m.

Vote for the American Labor Party candidates — Clifford T. McAvoy for Mayor; Charles I. Stewart for President of the City Council; Arthur Schutzer for Comptroller.

Only the American Labor Party and its candidates deserve the support of people who want to vote in 1953 for peace, civil liberties, civil rights and a New York City government that will genuinely serve the interests of eight million New Yorkers.

Riegelman, Impellitteri, Wagner, Halley — the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties — all stand wrong on these issues. There is no decisive difference among them that merits your vote.

To aid any one or two of these by the trick of stressing the defeat of any one or two of the others is to betray the great causes for which we have fought since we became a party. Honest men and women cannot distinguish among any of these candidates. All favor the pro-war programs of the Truman and the Eisenhower administrations. All oppose the full and equal application of the Bill of Rights.

Impellitteri is the Transit Authority-Higher Fare candidate.

Halley's alternative is just as bad, if not worse. He would cut the city services to the people by 75 million dollars; Riegelman by 70 million dollars; and Wagner calls for a payroll tax.

On their records and their declarations, we reject every one of them. The affirmation of our principles and the defense of the people's interests can be achieved only by a large vote for the American Labor Party candidates.

We need and ask your financial help to carry on a good campaign. We thank you for your support.

Vito Marcantonio
W. E. B. DuBois

Henry Abrams, Louise Berman, Morris Carnovsky, Charles Collins, Jesus Colon, Marvel Cooke, Howard Da Silva, Morris Goldin, Fanny Golos, Minneola Ingersoll, Andronicus Jacobs, Ada B. Jackson, Philip Jones, Lil Landau, John T. McManus, Manuel Medina, William H. Melish, Richard Morford, Hugh Mulzac, Clementina Paolone, Annette Rubinstein, Saul Rudes, John H. Scudder, Bunny Sher, Herbert Shingler, Yuri Suhl, Paul Trilling, Carl Trost, Antonio Tully, Gilbert Wasserman, Stephen J. White

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Movie Suggestions

First Runs

THE SNOW MAIDEN, Russian full-length color cartoon based on Rimsky-Korsakov opera. Stanley, 7th Av. nr. 42d St. Opens Sept. 5.

BEGGAR'S OPERA, John Gay's gay 18th-century opera, with Laurence Olivier singing. Baronet, 3d at 59th.

FROM HERE TO ETERNITY—Based on James Jones book on brutality of army life, this one is no encouragement to enlistment. Capitol, B'way & 51st St.

STALAG 17—Astor, B'way & 45th.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.

JULIUS CAESAR — Shakespeare makes the big screen. Booth Theatre, 45th St., W. of B'way. Reserved seats.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 1 showing, 9:15 p.m. **A Walk in the Sun** (1945), Sept. 11-13.

THALIA INTL. FILM FESTIVAL, 95th & B'way. AC 2-3370.

Masquerade in Vienna & De Maupassant's **Bel Ami**, Sat., Sept. 12.

Manon & Under the Paris Sky, Sun., Sept. 13.

Malraux's **Man's Hope** & Hemingway"s **The Spanish Earth**, Mon., Sept. 14.

Barber of Seville (Tagliavini) & **Life of Rossini**, Tues., Sept. 15.

Rigoletto (Gobbi) & **Tosca** (Tagliavini), Wed., Sept. 16.

The Mikado & First Film Concert (Brailowsky, Thibaud, Schumann, Piatigorsky, others), Thurs., Sept. 17.

St. Matthew Passion (directed by Flaherty) & **Erocia** (Beethoven biog.), Fri., Sept. 18.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE ENGLISH FILM REPERTORY, 55th St. nr. 7th Av.

Noel Coward's **Brief Encounter & I Know Where I'm Going** (Wendy Hiller), Sept. 10-12.

2 for Anglophiles: Coward's **This Happy Breed & Royal Journey**, Sept. 13-14.

Hue and Cry (satire with Alastair Sim) & **Marry Me**, Sept. 15-16.

The Red Shoes & The Winslow Boy, Sept. 17-19.

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. **Marie Antoinette** (1938), Norma Shearer & John Barrymore. Show at 3 p.m. daily. Sept. 14-20.

Manhattan

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Fanfan the Tulip** (Fr.), cont.

BEEKMAN, 2nd Av. bet. 65-66 Sts. **Desperate Moment** (Br.), cont.

BEVERLY, 3d Av. at 50th St. **Body and Soul & The Stranger**, Sept. 13-15; **Streetcar Named Desire & The Bullfighter and the Lady**, Sept. 16-19.

85TH - ST. TRANSLUX, 85th & Madison. **The Woman in Green**, Sept. 14.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th St. **Long Memory** (Mills, Br.), & **It Started in Paradise**, Sept. 9-15; **Limelight** (C. Chaplin), Sept. 16-19.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. **Great Expectations & Seventh Veil** (both Br.), Sept. 11-17.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. **Lili**, cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **The Cruel Sea**, (Br. docum.—type from Monsarrat novel, cont.)

GRAMERCY, 23d & Lexington Av. **Face to Face & Under the Red Sea** (docu.), Sept. 9-15.

GRANDE, 86th nr. Lexington Av. **Winslow Boy & Prelude to Fame**, Sept. 9-15.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. Noel Coward's **Tonight at 8:30 & Stranger in Between**, Sept. 12-15.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. **Martin Luther**, Sept. 9-18.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Face to Face & Under the Red Sea**, Sept. 12-15; **Fanfan the Tulip & Never Take No for an Answer**, Sept. 16-22.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th St. **Amazing M. Fabre** (Fr.) & **Miss Robinhood** (Br.), Sept. 12-15; **The Juggler & Last of the Comanches**, Sept. 16.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **So This Is Love**, Sept. 12-14.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Below the Sahara** (color docum.) cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d St. **Mr. Denning Drives North**, cont.

60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. **Sailor of the King** (Br.), cont.

68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. . .**Major Barbara & Pygmalion** (both Br.), Sept. 12-14; **Brief Encounter & I Know Where I'm Going** (both Br.), Sept. 15-18; **Curtain Up & White Corridors** (both Br.), Sept. 19-23.

SYMPHONY, B'way & 95th St. **Long Memory** (Mills) & **It Started in Paradise**, Sept. 17-18.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **The Bad and the Beautiful & Dead of Night** (Br.), Sept. 15-16.

WORLD, 153 W. 49th. **Rome Eleven O'Clock** (It.), cont.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Conc. **Fanfan the Tulip & Landfall** (Br.), Sept. 12-17.

DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. **The Juggler & Last of the Comanches**, Sept. 18-19.

New Evidence

- Atom expert Dr. Ralph Lapp declares there was no A-secret; Rosenbergs couldn't have given Russia A-bomb.
- There is proof the prosecution made a deal for perjured testimony against the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell.

New Strength

- From coast to coast America's conscience speaks . . . in the press . . . letters to the editor . . . on public platforms . . . in opinion polls . . . America demands the TRUTH.

New Trial

- A new trial can be won for Morton Sobell. America will learn the truth about the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

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Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
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Others to be announced.

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"Seek peace and pursue it."
—Psalm 34:14

Events for Children

SEPT. 12-19

Films

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM,* B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free.

Tues., Sept. 15, 4:30 p.m., **Argentina**; Wed., Sept. 16, 3:45 p.m., **The Dutch Way & Magnets**; Thurs., Sept. 17, 4:30 p.m., **Wheat Farmer**; Fri., Sept. 18, 4:30 p.m., **Chemistry**; Sat., Sept. 19, 11 a.m., **Common Animals of the Woods & The Vanishing El**; 2 p.m., **Children of China & Three Fox Fables**; 4 p.m., **Exploring Space & Treasure from the Sea.**

MUSEUM OF NAT'L HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. Free. (For older children). Recorded music played from 3:30 to 4 p.m. Wed., Sept. 16, 4 p.m. **The Moon: The Solar Family & The Earth in Motion.**

Miscellaneous

ART CLASSES: Museum of Modern Art offers classes for **parents and children**, aged 3-5, on Tues., Thurs. and Fri. Art Classes for **children and young people** from 3-18, organized by age level. Two **Ceramics and Modeling Classes** for children from 9-11 & 12-15 years of age. Registration at People's Art Center, 21 W. 53d St. or CI 5-8915.

CHILDREN'S CLUBS: B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. Clubs are being organized for the fall term. Registration from Sept. 15-Sept. 30.

Doll Club (8-14 yrs.), meets Tues. at 3:30 p.m.

Book Club (10-13 yrs.), meets Tues., twice a month at 3:30 p.m.

Museum Gazette (10-16 yrs.), members illustrate, write and publish three issues of the Museum Gazette. Meet Thurs. at 3:30 p.m.

Pet Club (7-11), meets Tues. at 3:30 p.m.

Bird Club (10-15 yrs.), meets Sat. at 10:30 a.m.

Microscope Club (8-15 yrs.), meets Fri. at 3:30 p.m.

Craft Club (8-10 yrs.), meets Sat. at 10:30 p.m.

Indian Club (6-9 yrs.), meets Thurs. at 3:30 p.m.

Geography Club (9-12 yrs.), meets Tues. at 3:30 p.m.

Science Club (9-11 yrs.), meets Thurs. at 3:30 p.m.

Science Open House (9-12 yrs.), meets Sat. at 3 p.m.

WONDERLAND FARM ZOO, 132-14 So. Conduit Av., So. Ozone Park, Queens. Feature new arrivals at the zoo. Japanese baby ducks, white mice (10 days old) and a 1-year-old chimpanzee. Children are permitted to feed and pet the animals. Admission, 30c.

•

You can get hundreds of listings of children's activities — many free, many listed nowhere else — for every day of the month, in advance! For one year subscription (12 Monthly issues) just send $2 with name and address to Box MC, Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

Where to Go

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM—Reopens Fri. eve., Sept. 11, at Barbizon-Plaza Theatre, 58th St. & 6th Av. for 7 weeks. 3 stories told by Sholom Aleichem and Isidore Peretz, dramatized in English by Arnold Perl. Cast includes Morris Carnovsky, Howard Da Silva, (director), Ruby Dee, Jack Gilford, Will Lee, Gil Green and Sarah Cunningham. Eves. 8:30 p.m. Mats. Sat. and Sun. at 2:30 p.m. Box office open 1-9 daily. CO 5-7845.

SADLER'S WELLS BALLET: Premiere Sun., Sept. 12, at Metropolitan Opera House, PE 6-1210. Eves. at 8:30 except Mon., $1.20-$6. Mats. Sat. and Sun. at 2:30 p.m., $1.20-$4.80. First week's program schedule as follows:

Sept. 13-15, Sun. & Tues.—**Le Lac des Cynes** (new production).

Sept. 16 & 17, Wed. & Thurs.—**The Sleeping Beauty.**

Sept. 18, Fri.—**Les Patineurs & The Shadow and Homage** (American premiere of both).

Sept. 19 & 20, Sat. & Sun.—**Le Lac des Cynes** (mat. & eve.).

BROOKLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Art exhibition from the B'klyn Museum Art Workshop for Talented Children. From Sept. 18-Oct. 20.

State shields farmers in peonage case

NEW YORK's peonage case moved closer to prosecution Aug. 27 when Theodore Kelly appeared at a State Labor Dept. hearing at 80 Center St. Kelly has been charged with "shanghaiing" several boys from a Brooklyn street corner to a farm 250 miles upstate in Wayland, N. Y. (GUARDIAN 8/17). If any prosecution was to come, it was clear that Kelly would be the fall guy.

He told department officials his story. He "came down here to Segal St., Brooklyn, and walked around where I saw two boys playing cards." He offered them jobs picking berries at 6c a quart. They took it. Kelly said he went on to other corners, "rounded up about 22 head altogether." The Dept. pointed out that 13 of the 22 were under 16, by law forbidden to work without permits. Kelly said all told him they were over 15. Many of the boys, present in the hearing room, murmured an audible dissent.

THE TREK HOME: The hearing confined itself to Kelly's part in the hiring, skipping as irrelevant what came afterward on the upstate farm of Arthur Belanger. The boys worked for little money, paid rent for a "chicken coop" where they slept five to a bed, had to hike all the way home in a trek that took them days and landed many of them in jail on vagrancy charges.

A N. Y. Post reporter on the scene wrote (8/27) that the building where the boys were housed had burned down the night they left. Farmer Belanger told the reporter he had remodeled the building after purchasing the 275-acre farm in 1947, and added: "I been using it as a labor camp for the niggers ever since. It wasn't no hotel, but it was good enough even for a white man."

PRESSURE REQUIRED: Belanger will not be prosecuted. Labor Dept. counsel, when asked about the farmer, said: **"Kelly admitted he did the hiring and firing. You heard him yourself. No, the farm owner won't be called. He has no responsibility in the matter."**

The Dept. held its hearing only after pressure was brought by the Brooklyn section of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Kelly faces a $50 fine on each of 13 violations of the Child Labor Law (a fine for each minor he hired). The Dept. held under advisement additional charges that he held back most of their pay for food and shelter.

Comfortably Air Cooled
SEPT. 11-13
A WALK IN THE SUN
". . . artful and honest dramatization of a few terrible hours in a few men's lives." N.Y. Times.
Theme ballad by Earl Robinson and Millard Lampell.
Sept. 18-20: CHARLIE CHAPLIN
Members, $1; Non-Members $1.25
CLUB CINEMA 430 6th Av. Nr. 9th St.

The Festival of World Youth in Bucharest

Special Guardian Correspondence

BUCHAREST, RUMANIA

EVERY phase of the great World Congress and Festival of Youth here deepened the feeling that what unites the youth of different lands, classes, creeds and political opinions is more important than what separates them.

This understanding was apparent in discussion of the Congress resolutions on how to get a decent life for working and student youth; how to help the youth of colonial and dependent lands win independence; how to put an end to the armaments drive and militarization of youth.

It was present in the exciting discussions on mathematics, chemistry, medicine and architecture, etc., with leading Rumanian and visiting scholars. It was at the heart of the splendid feats of music, dance, drama, poetry—with the youth of 99 countries taking part—that filled all of Bucharest's many theaters and concert halls, overflowed into the brilliantly flowering parks, in the squares and wide avenues of the summertime city. And it was evident in the sports contests in which a man's or woman's strength, swiftness, agility, endurance were all that anyone cared about.

THE TRUCE NEWS: Jacques St. Denis, secy. of the World Fedn. of Democratic Youth, in his report to the 1,500 delegates and observers at the Congress (July 25-30) said:

> "Here we put the stress not on what is different but on what unites us and is essential: the rights of youth, its aspirations, its will to peace and independence."

On July 27 the head of the Chinese delegation to the Congress, Hu Yao-pang, announced that truce had been signed in Korea. Silence—then a great shout in scores of languages blending into one: "Peace, Pace, Paix, Pokoj."

The banner-and flower-decked Floreasca Sports Palace became a surging ocean of singing, cheering, dancing people. British and American delegates embraced the Koreans who were caught up and carried through the hall, while new shouts rose: "Peace in Viet Nam now!"

THE HAND IS CLASPED: The debates showed the far-reaching character of the gathering: Matthews of the Louvain Catholic University said no movement of the youth could refuse the outstretched hand of the World Youth Fdn. asking cooperation, in spite of differences that might exist on certain matters. Mahfoud Kaddache, a leader of the Algerian Moslem Scouts, described the wretched condition of youth in his land after 123 years of foreign occupation, spoke of the new youth movement there.

Important decisions were for a world meeting of farm and peasant youth; for a cultural meeting of the youth of northern lands; above all, for "the creation of permanent solidarity with and assistance to the youth of colonial and underdeveloped countries." One of the seven vice-chairmen elected was an American, as was a member of the secretariat.

THE LONG LINE: High point of the Festival, which opened Aug. 2, was the great opening parade—29,000 in the line—at the August 23d Stadium, built in five months by Rumanian youth.

There were international sessions of students, of the farm youth of five continents; of young metal workers, miners, teachers, white collar workers, construction workers, electrical workers and others.

Something of the tremendous richness of talent shown in the cultural competitions and at the gala concerts and performances appears in these Festival figures:

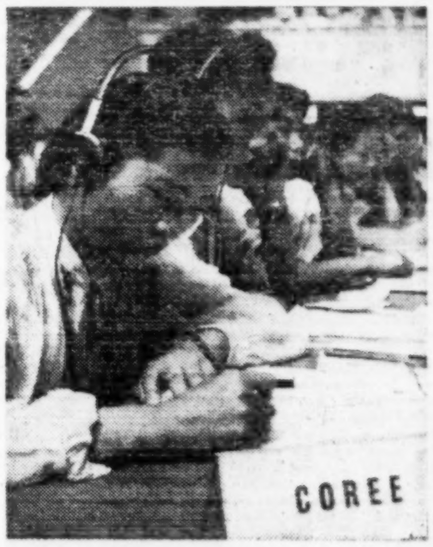
In the first eight days there were performed 232 national programs, 201 cinema programs. In the sports events 4,000 from 50 lands took part, including Olympic champions like Czechoslovakia's Emil Zapotek. In all there were some 30 Olympic, international and national champions.

THE HOME COUNTRY: As hosts the Rumanians were most gracious and efficient—and they helped their guests see what it really means to be young in a people's democracy.

For them the Congress and Festival coincided with a period of upswing in the life of the Republic: a bumper harvest in all parts of the land made possible largely by the farm machinery now manufactured in Rumania's new machine-building plants; and with a peak in oil production never reached in the decades when their oilfields were in the hands of Standard Oil of New Jersey and Dutch Shell.

They viewed the Festival as complementing their own rich and expanding life.

PICTURE CAPTIONS: (Top left) **Raymonde Dien, heroine of the resistance in France to the Indo-China war, embraces a delegate from Viet Nam.** (Top right) **When the news of the Korean truce came, they sang, danced and shouted in an hour-long demonstration.** (Middle left) **There were 80,000 in the stands at the August 23d Stadium when these delegates from Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria in W. Africa, came in.** (Middle right) **A tremendous ovation greeted the American delegation bearing the Stars and Stripes.** (Bottom) **From Korea came 300 delegates representing 700,000 young people of that country. This scene was in the Congress hall.**



THE MAN WHO REMEMBERED 1776

Force & violence—and social change

SEATTLE, WASH.

Dear Fellow American:

This letter is written to advise you of the circumstances of my citation for contempt of court and my present detention in the King County jail. I am prompted to write it because of my conviction that the circumstances involved have considerable civic importance.

Perhaps it would be well for me to introduce myself briefly. I was born at Rapid City, S. D. I am 61. I have lived the majority of my mature life in Seattle, over 40 years. I served two years in the U. S. Navy during World War I. For several years after graduation I studied at Cambridge and Columbia Universities. I taught philosophy at Barnard College for several years and at the University of Washington for 19 years. I specialized in Introductory Philosophy and Philosophy of History. My teaching career was abruptly terminated in 1949, when I was dismissed by the regents of the University of Washington, contrary to the recommendations of the Faculty Tenure Committee, for my declared membership in the Communist Party.

HERBERT J. PHILLIPS

VOLUNTARY WITNESS: My contempt citation was the result of my refusal to answer a question asked me on cross examination, while I was testifying at the current trial of seven Northwest citizens indicted for violation of the Smith Act.

I offered to testify, and was accepted by the defense attorneys, because of my long and active membership in the Communist Party, my knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and particularly my experience in presenting that theory.

The defendants in the trial are charged with having conspired to teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing the government of the U. S. by force and violence whenever circumstances would permit. The prosecution's case consisted in attempting to establish (1) that the defendants are or have been members of the Communist Party of the United States, (2) that the Communist Party is committed to a body of doctrine known as Marxism-Leninism, and (3) that Marxism-Leninism is the teaching and advocacy of the overthrow of the U. S. government by force and violence. Since six of the defendants have declared their present membership in the Communist Party, it can be seen that the nature of Marxism-Leninism is central to the U. S.'s case.

OUR OWN REVOLUTION: In denying that Marxism-Leninism had ever contained any advocacy of force and violence as a means of social change, I explained that I interpreted such expressions as "overthrow of the U. S. government by force and violence" as referring to a *coup d'etat* or military conspiracy; i.e., the use of physical force on the part of an anti-popular **minority** for the purpose of overthrowing a democratic regime and the establishment of a tyranny. I gave the 1936 Franco *coup* in Spain as an example of such use of force and violence. In this sense of the expression, I testified that on my understanding Marxists-Leninists had always explicitly repudiated "force and violence."

With respect to passages in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which teach the historical necessity of violent revolution, I offered textual support for my contention that by "violent revolution" these writers meant "popular insurrection"; i.e., the use of physical force on the part of the **majority** of the people to overthrow a tyranny and establish a democratic regime. I cited the American Revolution as an example of such use of "force and violence." I also testified that contemporary Marxists-Leninists no longer teach the historical necessity of the popular insurrection in the transition from Capitalism to Socialism, and that it was my understanding that the experience gained in carrying out the policy of the United Front (i.e., the mobilization of all possible forces) against Hitlerism and fascism had convinced contemporary Marxists-Leninists of the historical possibility (and desirability), of a parliamentary transition to Socialism.

SCIENCE & HISTORY: Finally, since an understanding of the general theory of Marxism-Leninism was necessary to an understanding of the position of the Communist Party on force and violence, I was permitted, over prosecution objection, to develop the thesis that Marxism-Leninism is a scientific hypothesis that proposes to explain the major manifestations of modern history, such as Industrial Conflict, Economic Crises, Imperialism, World Wars, Fascism and Socialism, as outgrowths of a profit economy.

This constituted my direct testimony.

It had been my opinion and that of defense counsel that testimony of such a purely theoretical nature, given by a non-defendant, could not relevantly expose me to questions not honorably answerable. The prosecutor thought differently, however; and on the ground that it was relevant to establish (1) that I actually am a member of the Communist Party and (2) that I had discussed the material of my testimony with other Communists (I had testified to long and intensive discussion of this material with the defendants), I was asked to name the chairman of my Communist Party Club. I asked the prosecution to withdraw the question, since to answer it would needlessly harm an innocent person. Earlier in the case, when a Seattle high school teacher's name was mentioned by a prosecution witness, her dismissal was recommended despite 27 years of outstanding service for the Seattle Public Schools. The Prosecutor refused and I was cited for contempt and am now in jail.

WITHDRAW THE QUESTION: I feel that I don't need to emphasize the importance of the present trials. Many people unsympathetic with communism are worried about McCarthyism and the threat to civil liberty which a trial of ideas necessarily entails. Such people and others will be particularly anxious that the trial be completely fair. If it seems to you that my jailing under these circumstances in any way restricts the possibilities of a fair trial, I hope you will feel it your duty to ask Mr. Tracy Griffin, Special Prosecutor, Federal Courthouse, Seattle, Wash., to withdraw his question.

Herbert J. Phillips

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United Nations

(Continued from Page 1)

as a partial victory for the principles of the international organization. Many regretted that the eminent jurists avoided commenting upon the introduction of the U. S. political witch-hunt among international civil servants and U. S. pressure on the Secy.-Gen., both in violation of the Charter.

On Hammarskjold's action, some felt he was wise in offering compensation to the four he was ordered to reinstate, thereby avoiding long, bitter debates in the Assembly which would have graver matters to discuss. Others felt he should have reinstated the four, taking a forthright position in face of greater assaults—sure to come—on the rights of UN and of Americans employed by it.

NEW BATTLES: The assaults were unquestionably coming. There was talk of a January drive in the House of Representatives for a bill already passed by the Senate that demands "loyalty clearance" for all Americans joining international organizations. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee chairman Jenner (R-Ind.) has ordered reopening by Sept. 23 of the loyalty inquiry of the 11 fired staff members who won favorable verdicts from the Tribunal, to which UN officials would "probably" be called to testify. At a staff party, Hammarskjold warned that problems of maintaining the independence of UN employes "may become more acute" in the next few months.

Sen. McCarthy, accompanied by his sleuths Cohn and Schine, paid a surprise visit to UN the day after the Tribunal's decisions, was reported (N. Y. **Times**, 9/4) to have told one diplomat he was looking over the UN headquarters "to see about turning it into a little schoolhouse." McCarthy opposed—as did Sen. Wiley (R-Wis.)—paying compensation to any dismissed UN employe and said: "If we can be forced to have Communists represent us in UN, we should very seriously consider the wisdom of remaining in that body." Wiley demanded that the Assembly reverse the Tribunal's decisions.

Last winter, when there was strong criticism in UN of U. S. policy regarding UN personnel, the Assembly agreed to abide by the Tribunal's decision. Although it would be difficult for the Assembly to reverse itself, many UN members foresaw a full-dress debate on staff relations and a bitter wrangle over paying the compensation the Tribunal decreed.

Big powers block probe of French N. African policy

THE 11-member UN Security Council, on Sept. 3, by a 5-5-1 vote rejected the request by 15 Asian-Arab countries for an investigation "as a danger to international peace" of France's forcible exiling of the Sultan of Morocco. With France threatening to quit if UN took up the issue, and with the U. S. (holding military bases in Morocco) and Britain supporting France, the rejection was a foregone conclusion. Denmark and Colombia also voted against; voting in favor were Pakistan, Lebanon, Chile, the U. S. S. R. and Nationalist China (Formosa).

● In the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the U. S. declared that Puerto Rico had become a fully self-governing Commonwealth, thereby relieving the U. S. of necessity for submitting further reports to the committee. Indian delegate Mrs. Lakshmi Menon declared that "Puerto Rico is definitely not a territory which has attained independence, nor is it separate in identity."

Mrs. Menon was supported by a Puerto Rican Communist Party memorandum which said colonialism still prevailed in Puerto Rico because relations with the U. S. were still determined by the latter's unilateral wishes; the U. S. dominated Puerto Rico's economic life; U. S. laws, such as Taft-Hartley, the coastwise shipping, immigration, Selective Service, Smith and McCarran Acts governed Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican issue was sent to the Assembly for decision.

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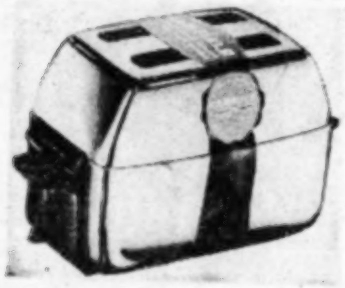

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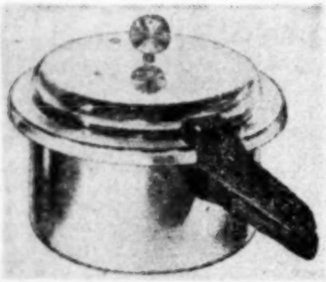

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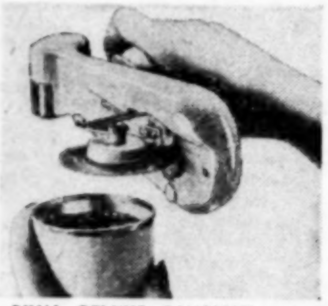

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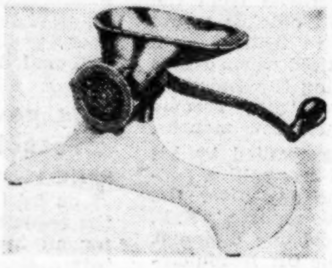

ENTERPRISE NO CLAMP MEAT AND FOOD GRINDER. Table top model. Requires no clamping down. Tempered steel cutting parts. White only. Shipping wgt. 6 lbs.
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AUTOMATIC DEFROSTER. Defrosts your refrigerator automatically. Shipping wgt. 2 lbs.
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The new, improved portable with line meter, push button top, visible tab set, new special spacer, space selector, fibreglass case. Specify pica or elite. Shipped express.
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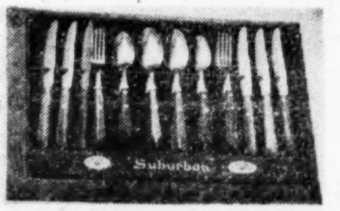
BOONTONWARE PLASTIC DINNERWARE
16 pc. Starter Set. Top rated by ind. consumer research org. Made of melmac, which does not chip, crack or break. Satiny smooth, smartly designed. Comes in beautiful decorator colors: Powder Blue, Golden Yellow, Cranberry Red, Sea Foam Green, Stone Grey or Forest Green. Written guarantee with every purchase. Consists of 4 cups, 4 saucers and 4 6" bread & butter plates, 4 9" dinner plates. Shipping wgt. 10 lbs.
List Price $13.95 — Guard. Price $10.95

5 pc. Presentation Set. Includes one cup, one saucer, one 16 oz. lug soup or salad bowl, one 7" dessert or bread & butter plate. Colors and description same as above. Shipping wgt. 5 lbs.
List Price $5.50 — Guard. Price $4.25

Additional "open stock" pieces, i.e., sugar bowls, creamers, etc., are available on request at similar savings.



TOWN & COUNTRY CUTLERY SET. 24 pc. service for 6. Stainless steel. Pakkawood handles, burn & stain resistant. Solidly riveted. Consists of 6 knives, 6 dinner forks, 6 teaspoons, 6 dessert spoons. Chest included. Shipping wgt. 4 lbs.
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Quantity	Size, Color, Description	Amount
	POSTAGE	
	TOTAL	

Name ....

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